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THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND ITS SIGNERS

WITH FACSIMILES

AND A LIST OF
THE MAYFLOWER PASSENGERS

1620 1920

By GEORGE ERNEST BOWMAN
Editor of The Mayflower Descendant

In Commemoration Of The
Signing Of The Compact
21 November 1620

Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants
Boston, Massachusetts
1920

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This brochure has been prepared and published, at the personal expense of the author, in commemoration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Signing of The Compact.

A copy will be presented by him to each person attending the Twenty-Fifth Annual Dinner, of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, on Monday evening, 22 November, 1920.

All copies not reserved for personal distribution have been presented to that Society to be sold, and the proceeds used in its publication and research work.

Boston, Massachusetts
21 November, 1920

CONTENTS

Facsimile of Oldest Known Copy of The Compact . . . Page 6

The Mayflower Compact and Its Signers 7

Mourt's Relation 9

Facsimile of Oldest Known Manuscript Copy of The Compact 10

Bradford's History 11

The Signers of The Compact 12

Facsimile of page 15 of "New-Englands Memoriall" . . 15

Facsimile of page 16 of "New-Englands Memoriall" . . 16

Why Did Only Forty-One Passengers Sign The Compact? 17

The Mayflower Passengers 19

in one body, and to ſubmit to ſuch government and gover-nours, as we ſhould by common conſent agree to make and choſe, and ſet our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whoſe names are vnder-written, the loyall Subiects of our dread ſoveraigne Lord King IAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advance-ment of the Chriſtian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the firſt Colony in the Nor-therne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by theſe preſents ſolemnly & mutually in the preſence of *God* and one of another, cove-nant, and combine our ſelues together into a civill body po-litike, for our better ordering and preſervation, and furthe-rance of the ends aforeſaid; and by vertue hereof to en-act, conſtitute, and frame ſuch iuſt and equall Lawes, Ordi-nances, acts, conſtitutions, offices from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promiſe all due ſubmiſſion and obedience. In witneſſe whereof we haue here-vnder ſubſcribed our names. *Cape Cod* 11. of *November*, in the yeare of the raigne of our ſoveraigne Lord King IAMES, of *Eng-land*, *France*, and *Ireland* 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Do-mino* 1620.

The ſame day ſo ſoone as we could we ſet a-ſhore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with ſome to fetch wood, for we had none left; as alſo to ſee what the Land was, and what Inha-bitants they could meet with, they found it to be a ſmall neck of Land; on this ſide where we lay is the *Bay*, and the further ſide the Sea; the ground or earth, ſand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better; the cruſt of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth; all wooded with Okes, Pines, Saſſafras, Iuniper Birch, Holly, Vines, ſome Aſh, Wal-nut; the wood for the moſt part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people retur-

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT AND ITS SIGNERS

WHERE is the original Mayflower Compact, with its forty-one autograph signatures?

How has the text of The Compact been preserved to the present day?

How have the names of the Signers of The Compact been handed down to us?

The first of these questions cannot be answered, as I have not found, either in print or in unpublished records, any statement which indicated a knowledge of the location of the original manuscript of The Compact, after April, 1621, or even proved its existence after that date.

The only later entry I have found, which might possibly refer to the original Compact, is in the Plymouth Colony Records, under date of 15 November, 1636. In the record of a meeting of the Governor, Assistants and others, as a committee to prepare a revision of the laws of the colony, we read: "Now being assembled . . . and having read the Combinacon made at [Cape] Cod the 11th of Novbr 1620"; but there is nothing in this record to indicate that, when they "read the Combinacon", they had before them the original document. They may have had only an official copy of it.

According to the Old Style calendar, then used by the English, the Mayflower reached Cape Cod Harbor, now Provincetown, Mass., on Saturday, 11 November, 1620, which was the same day as Saturday, 21 November, 1620, according to the New Style calendar, with which the Pilgrims had become familiar in Holland, and which the English government finally adopted in 1752. It is incorrect, therefore, to claim that the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Signing of The Compact will fall on Thursday, 11 November, 1920, as three full centuries from the date of the Signing will not be completed until Sunday, 21 November, 1920.

As the Mayflower Passengers had been forced by circumstances to settle outside of their original grant from the Virginia Company, they drew up and signed, before they landed at Cape Cod, according to Governor Bradford's History, "a combination" which was "ye first foundation of their governmente in this place".

This "combination", which was called "The Compact" as early as 1793, was signed on the Mayflower, Saturday, 21 November, 1620, New Style, by the forty-one passengers who were then of age and were free agents, and the original document, of course, remained on the ship until carried ashore at Plymouth.

The Third Exploring Party, composed entirely of men, set out from the Mayflower, on Wednesday, 16 December, 1620, New Style, in the shallop, and on Friday evening, 18 December, they were driven into Plymouth harbor in a storm, landing on Clark's Island; on Saturday, "this being the last day of y^e^ weeke, they prepared ther to keepe y^e^ Sabath"; and on Monday, 21 December, long celebrated as "Forefathers' Day", they landed and explored the coast.

It should be especially noted that the Mayflower itself did not reach Plymouth until Saturday, 26 December, 1620, New Style. She left Cape Cod Harbor, for Plymouth, on Friday, 25 December, 1620, New Style, but was driven back by a storm. The next day, Saturday, 26 December, she started again and reached Plymouth the same day, just five weeks after she had sailed into Cape Cod Harbor. She remained at Plymouth through the winter, and in April, 1621, started on her return voyage to England, arriving there in May. When she left Plymouth, she must have had on board either the original Compact or an officially attested copy of it, but nothing has been found to determine which she carried.

In brief, the original Compact was on the Mayflower, at Cape Cod Harbor, from 21 November to 26 December, 1620; then was at Plymouth until sometime in April, 1621; then for about a month was either at Plymouth or again on the Mayflower, on its return voyage to England. From this point the history of the original document is entirely unknown, and we cannot say with certainty that any particular person has seen it, since the departure of the Mayflower from Plymouth.

The oldest copy of the text of The Compact, known at the present time, is that printed in "Mourt's Relation", in 1622.

The oldest manuscript copy of the text in existence, as far as known, is in Bradford's History, written between 1630 and 1646.

The oldest known list of the forty-one Signers of The Compact is found in "New-Englands Memoriall", printed in 1669.

William Bradford and Edward Winslow are the only Signers of The Compact who are known to have left any written or printed statement about it.

MOURT'S RELATION

The Fortune arrived at Plymouth, New England, in November, 1621, and began her return voyage in December. She carried back to England an account of the colony, written by William Bradford and Edward Winslow, which was printed in London, in 1622, with the title: "A Relation or Journal of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England".

On the third page of the first edition of this book, which is commonly called "Mourt's Relation", we find the oldest known copy of the text of The Compact, and this entire page has been reproduced, in the illustration on page six, through the courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, of Providence, R. I.

"Mourt's Relation", unfortunately, does not give the names of the forty-one Signers of The Compact.

Bradford was Governor of the Colony when the Fortune was at Plymouth, and probably all the official records, including either the original Compact or an attested copy, were in his care, consequently he and Winslow, both of whom had signed The Compact, were in a position to secure a careful transcript of it, to include in their "Relation"; but, unfortunately, there is nothing in this book to show whether the original Compact had been sent to England in the Mayflower, was in Plymouth when the Fortune sailed, or was taken to England by the Fortune.

I have not attempted to make a list of early printed copies of The Compact, my efforts having been devoted entirely to finding some reference to the existence of the original document; but it may be of interest to note that Samuel Purchas reprinted part of "Mourt's Relation", including The Compact, in "Purchas His Pilgrimes", published at London, in 1625.

ſcribe by them done (this their condition conſidered) might be as firme as any patent; and in ſome reſpects more ſure.

The forme was as followeth.

In ye name of god Amen. We whoſe names are underwriten, the loyall ſubiects of our dread ſoueraigne Lord King Iames by ye grace of god, of great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defendor of ye faith, &c.

Haueing vndertaken, for ye glorie of god, and aduancemente of ye christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye firſt Colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia. Doe by theſe preſents ſolemnly & mutualy in ye preſence of god, and one of another, Couenant, & combine our ſelues togeather into a Ciuill body politick, for our better ordering, & preſeruation & furtherance of ye ends aforeſaid; and by vertue hearof to Enacte, Conſtitute, and frame ſhuch juſt & equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, conſtitutions, & offices, from time to time, as ſhall be thought moſt meete & conuenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie: Vnto which we promiſe all due ſubmiſſion and obedience. In witnes wher of we haue hereunder ſubſcribed our names at Cap=Codd ye .11. of Nouember, in ye year of ye raigne of our ſoueraigne Lord king Iames of England, Franc, & Ireland ye eighteen and of Scotland ye fifth 4th. Anno Dom. 1620.

After this they choſe, or rather confirmed mr John caruer (a man godly & well approued amongſt them) their gouernour for that year. And after they had prouided a place for their goods, or comone ſtore, (which were long in vnlading for want of boats foulnes of ye winter weather, and ſickines of diuers) and begune ſome ſmall cottages for their habitation; as time would admitt they met and conſulted of lawes, & ordours, both for their ciuill & militarie gouerment, as ye neceſſitie of their condition did require, ſtill adding thervnto as vrgent occaſion in ſeuerall times, and cases did require.

In theſe hard & difficulte beginings they found ſome diſcontents & murmurings ariſe amongſt ſome, and mutinous ſpeeches & carriages in other; but they were ſoone quelled, & ouercome, by ye wiſedome, patience, and juſt & equall carrage of things, by ye gou: and better part, wch clame ſatisfaction togeather in ye maine. But that which was moſt ſadd, & lamentable, was, that in 2. or 3. monthes time halfe of their company dyed, eſpecially in Jan: & february, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houſes & other comforts; being vnfitted with ye ſcurvie &

BRADFORD'S HISTORY

THE oldest known manuscript copy of The Compact is found in Gov. William Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, the original manuscript of which is in the State Library, in Boston. This History was first put into print in the year 1856.

In Bradford's handwriting, facing original page 4, of this manuscript History, is a note, dated "Anno Dom: 1646", stating that he "first begane these scribled writings . . . aboute y^e^ yeare . 1630"; and on page 57 is a statement that the peace with Massasoit, which had been made in the year 1621, "hath now continued this . 24 . years", that is, until 1645 or 1646.

As Bradford's copy of the "combination", as he called The Compact, is found on page 54 of his History, it is evident that he wrote that page between 1630 and 1646, and probably it was much nearer to the latter date than to the former.

The entire fifty-fourth page of Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, on which is found the oldest manuscript copy of The Compact, has been reproduced in the illustration facing this page.

It is not possible to determine, at the present time, whether the copy of The Compact in Bradford's History was made from the original document, from an official copy of the original, from Mourt's Relation, or from some unknown source. Bradford of course had access to all official records of Plymouth Colony, as already stated, but apparently it did not occur to him that the names of the Signers of The Compact would interest those who might read his History.

THE SIGNERS OF THE COMPACT

THE oldest known list of the forty-one Signers of The Compact is found in Nathaniel Morton's "New-Englands Memoriall", first printed at Cambridge, Mass., in 1669.

Morton had been one of the 156 inhabitants of Plymouth, on 1 June, 1627, New Style, as shown by the Division of Cattle on that date, and he must have been personally acquainted with the sixteen Signers then living at Plymouth, as follows: John Alden, Isaac Allerton, John Billington, William Bradford, William Brewster, Peter Brown, Francis Cooke, Edward Doty, Francis Eaton, Samuel Fuller, Stephen Hopkins, John Howland, George Soule, Myles Standish, Richard Warren, Edward Winslow.

Three of these sixteen, John Alden, John Howland and George Soule, were living in 1669, Alden and Soule at Duxbury, and Howland at Plymouth; and Alden, at least, was present, as an Assistant, when Plymouth Colony voted a contribution towards the expense of printing the "Memoriall".

Morton had also been Secretary (at first called Clerk) of Plymouth Colony for more than twenty years, when his book was printed, and he presumably had in his care either the original Compact, with its autograph signatures, or an official copy; and in "The Epistle Dedicatory" of his "Memoriall", he wrote: "the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honoured Uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such Manuscripts as he left in his Study, from the year 1620, unto 1646", and "Certain Diurnals of the honoured Mr. Edward Winslow, have also afforded me good light and help".

It is certain, therefore, that Morton had ample opportunity to obtain an accurate list of the Signers, and it is unfortunate that he did not make any reference to the existence or the location of the original Compact.

I have found no manuscript or printed reference to any list of the Signers antedating that given by Morton, and the fact that his "Memoriall" is our sole authority for the names of the Signers should be emphasized, because he does not state the order in which the names were affixed to the original document, and does not number the Signers.

In the first edition of the "Memoriall", The Compact is found on page 15, with the names of twenty-one Signers at the bottom

of that page, in three columns, and the remaining twenty names, also in three columns, at the top of page 16. In the following copy the names are arranged as printed in the "Memoriall".

[At the bottom of page 15]

John Carver	Samuel Fuller	Edward Tilley
William Bradford	Christopher Martin	John Tilley
Edward Winslow	William Mullins	Francis Cooke
William Brewster	William White	Thomas Rogers
Isaac Allerton	Richard Warren	Thomas Tinker
Myles Standish	John Howland	John Rigdale
John Alden	Stephen Hopkins	Edward Fuller

[At the top of page 16]

John Turner	Degory Priest	Richard Clarke
Francis Eaton	Thomas Williams	Richard Gardiner
James Chilton	Gilbert Winslow	John Allerton
John Crakston	Edmund Margeson	Thomas English
John Billington	Peter Brown	Edward Doty
Moses Fletcher	Richard Britterige	Edward Leister
John Goodman	George Soule	

The first person to number the Signers seems to have been Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, in 1736, in "A Chronological History of New-England"; but he distinctly stated that his list of the names was taken from Morton's "Memoriall". Prince arranged the names in two columns, the first containing the twenty-one names at the bottom of page 15 of the "Memoriall", the second containing the names at the top of page 16. In each case Prince took first the seven names in the left-hand column, then those in the central column, then the right-hand column. The names in his own first column he numbered from one to twenty-one, and those in his own second column from twenty-two to forty-one.

As we do not know either the shape or the size of the paper, or parchment, on which the original Compact was written, it is impossible to determine whether the forty-one signatures were arranged in two, three or four columns. Even if we had the original Compact before us, and found that there were only two columns of signatures, it would still be impossible to determine the exact order of signing; and it is also doubtful if we should

be able to determine whether the first signature was at the top of the right-hand column or at the top of the left-hand column.

Nathaniel Morton himself probably did not know the exact order of signing, and it is unfortunate that Prince, writing sixty-seven years later, put numbers before the names of the Signers, because subsequent writers, supposing that he knew the actual order of signing, have followed his numbering, with the result that many persons believe they are descended from "the fourth Signer", or from "the seventeenth Signer", or from "the thirty-fifth Signer", etc., accepting as correct the numbers assigned by Prince one hundred and sixteen years after The Compact was drawn up.

Through the courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, of Providence, R. I., we are able to present herewith reproductions of the entire fifteenth and sixteenth pages of Morton's "New-Englands Memoriall", and these two pages follow, printed back to back, exactly as they appear in the first edition of that book.

by a general Consent from time to time be made choice of, and assented unto. The Contents whereof followeth.

This was the first Foundation of the Government of New-Plimouth.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We whose Names are under-written, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Soveraign Lord King *James*, by the grace of God of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*, King, *Defendor of the Faith, &c.* Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northern parts of *Virginia*; Do by these Presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, Covenant and Combine our selves together into a Civil Body Politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names at *Cape Cod*, the eleventh of *November*, in the Reign of our Soveraign Lord King *James*, of *England, France* and *Ireland* the eighteenth, and of *Scotland* the fifty fourth, *Anno Dom.* 1620.

John Carver.
William Bradford.
Edward Winslow.
William Brewster.
Isaac Allerton.
Miles Standish.
John Alden.
Samuel Fuller.
Christopher Martin.
William Mullins.
William White.
Richard Warren.
John Howland.
Steven Hopkins.
Edward Tilly.
John Tilly.
Francis Cook.
Thomas Rogers.
Thomas Tinker.
John Ridgdale.
Edward Fuller.

John

John Turner.	*Digery Prieſt.*	*Richard Clark.*
Francis Eaton.	*Thomas Williams.*	*Richard Gardiner.*
James Chilton.	*Gilbert Winſlow.*	*John Allerton.*
John Craxton.	*Edmond Margeſon.*	*Thomas Engliſh.*
John Billington.	*Peter Brown.*	*Edward Doten.*
Joſes Fletcher.	*Richard Bitteridge.*	*Edward Lieſter.*
John Goodman.	*George Soule.*	

Mr. John Carver the firſt Governour of the Juriſdiction of New Plimouth

After this, they choſe Mr. *John Carver*, a man godly and well-approved amongſt them, to be their Governour for that year.

Neceſſity now calling them to look out a place for Habitation, as well as the Maſter and Mariners importunity urging them thereunto; while their Carpenter was trimming up of their Boat, ſixteen of their men tendred themſelves to go by land and diſcover thoſe neareſt places; which was accepted: and they being well armed, were ſent forth on the ſixteenth of *November* 1620. and having marched about a mile by the Sea-ſide, they eſpied five *Indians*, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day ſundry miles, but could not come to ſpeech with them: ſo night coming on, they betook themſelves to their Rendezvouz, and ſet out their Sentinels, and reſted in quiet that night; and the next morning they followed the *Indians* tracts, but could not finde them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a Pond of freſh water, where formerly the *Indians* had planted *Indian* Corn, at which place they ſaw ſundry of their graves; and proceeding further, they found new Stubble where *Indian* Corn had been planted the ſame year; alſo they found where lately an houſe had been, where ſome Planks and a great Kettle was remaining, and heaps of ſand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up, and found in them divers fair *Indian* Baskets filled with Corn, ſome whereof was in Ears, fair and good of divers colours, which ſeemed to them a very goodly ſight, having ſeen none before: Of which Rarities they took ſome to carry to their friends on Shipboard, like as the

Iſraelites

WHY DID ONLY FORTY-ONE PASSENGERS SIGN THE COMPACT?

Some years ago a speaker at one of the meetings of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants said that it was very singular that only forty-one of the Mayflower Passengers signed "The Compact," and stated that no explanation had been found for this apparent discrimination. As others have labored under the same impression, it has seemed advisable to state the facts very concisely.

The voyage of the Mayflower ended at Plymouth, New England, and her passenger list contained one hundred and four (104) names in all; but William Butten died before Provincetown was reached, and Peregrine[2] White (*William*[1]) was not born until about the second week in December.* On 21 November, 1620, therefore, the number of passengers on board the Mayflower, at what is now Provincetown, was one hundred and two (102). Of this number, twenty-nine (29) were females, as follows: eighteen married women accompanying their husbands; seven unmarried daughters with their parents; three young unmarried women; one little girl with Edward Winslow's family.

Of the seventy-three (73) males on the Mayflower, 21 November, 1620, but forty-one (41) signed "The Compact." Why do we not find the signatures of some of the other male passengers? The question is easily answered.

More than two-thirds of the thirty-two (32) who did not sign were under age, and their signatures would have had no value. There were seventeen (17) minor sons of passengers, one (1) minor nephew of a passenger, and five (5) boys who were not with their own parents. Therefore, twenty-three (23) of the males who did not sign were minors in the care of their parents or of other persons.

Nine (9) males are still to be accounted for. In his list of the Mayflower Passengers, Gov. Bradford says: "Ther were allso other . 2 . seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore; and one Ely. But when their time was out they both returned." As Trevore and Ely were bound by a seaman's contract, which in those days was exceedingly strict, it is evident

* Between 7 December and 10 December, 1620, New Style.

that neither of these two men was free to sign "The Compact." And it was not necessary that they should sign, as they could be controlled by their contracts, without reference to the later "Compact."

All of the other males, seven only, are distinctly called servants by Gov. Bradford, and there can be no question that the terms of their contracts with their respective masters were such that they were not free agents, even if they were twenty-one years old. Their ages have not been discovered, and possibly some of these seven were too young to sign, even if they had not been servants.

In brief, every male passenger, without a single exception, who is known to have been of legal age and also a free agent, signed "The Compact"; and every male passenger who did not sign it was either a minor or a servant under some form of contract which undoubtedly did not leave him free to sign, or which made his signature unnecessary.

THE MAYFLOWER PASSENGERS

THERE were only one hundred and four (104) Mayflower Passengers. Every one of them is included in the two lists following.

There were no other passengers.

[THE 50 PASSENGERS FROM WHOM DESCENT CAN BE PROVED]

John[1] Alden
Isaac[1] Allerton
  wife Mary
  daughter Mary[2]
  daughter Remember[2]
John[1] Billington
  wife Eleanor
  son Francis[2]
William[1] Bradford
William[1] Brewster
  wife Mary
  son Love[2]
Peter[1] Brown
James[1] Chilton
  wife ———
  daughter Mary[2]
Francis[1] Cooke
  son John[2]
Edward[1] Doty
Francis[1] Eaton
  wife Sarah
  son Samuel[2]
Edward[1] Fuller
  wife ——ANN
  son Samuel[2]
Dr. Samuel[1] Fuller
Stephen[1] Hopkins
  2d wife, Elizabeth
  son Gyles[2]
    (by 1st wife)
  daughter Constance[2]
    (by 1st wife)
John[1] Howland
Richard More
William[1] Mullins
  wife Alice
  daughter Priscilla[2]
Degory[1] Priest
Thomas[1] Rogers
  son Joseph[2]
Henry[1] Samson
George[1] Soule
Myles[1] Standish
John[1] Tilley
  wife ———
  daughter Elizabeth[2]
Richard[1] Warren
William[1] White
  wife Susanna
  son Resolved[2]
  son Peregrine[2]
Edward[1] Winslow

[THE 54 PASSENGERS FROM WHOM WE CANNOT PROVE DESCENT]

Bartholomew[2] Allerton
John Allerton
John[2] Billington
Dorothy Bradford
  (1st wife of William[1])
Wrestling[2] Brewster
Richard Britteridge
William Butten
Robert Carter
John Carver
Katharine Carver
  (wife of John)
Maid servant of the
    Carvers
Richard Clarke
Humility Cooper
John[1] Crakston
  son John[2]
——— Ely
Thomas English
Moses Fletcher
Richard Gardiner
John Goodman
William Holbeck
John Hooke
Damaris[2] Hopkins
Oceanus[2] Hopkins
John Langmore
William Latham
Edward Leister
Edmund Margeson
Christopher Martin
  wife ———
Desire Minter
Ellen More
Jasper More
[a boy] More
Joseph[2] Mullins
Solomon Prower
John Rigdale
  wife Alice
Rose Standish
  (1st wife of Myles[1])
Elias Story
Edward Thomson
Edward Tilley
  wife Ann
Thomas[1] Tinker
  wife ———
  son ———
William Trevore
John[1] Turner
  son ———
  son ———
Roger Wilder
Thomas Williams
Elizabeth Winslow
  (1st wife of Edward[1])
Gilbert Winslow

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